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pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Cheola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[a] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[b]

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

[a] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 56.

[b] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 •611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 31.